

Routes to tour in Germany

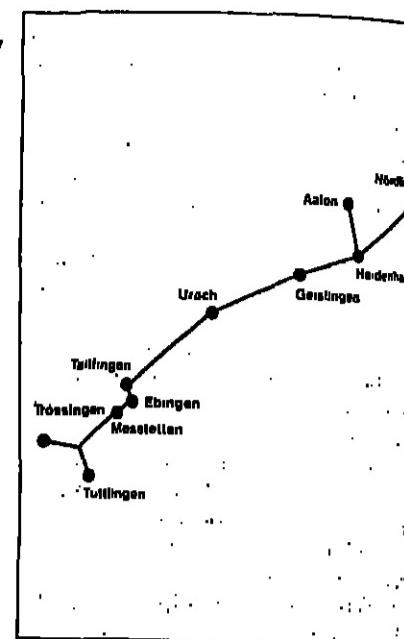
The Swabian Alb Route

German roads will get you there. South of Stuttgart the Swabian Alb runs north-east from the Black Forest. It is a range of hills full of fossilised reminders of prehistory. It has a blustery but healthy climate, so have good walking shoes with you and scale a few heights as you try out some of the 6,250 miles of marked paths. Dense forests, caves full of stalactites and stalagmites, ruined castles and rocks that invite you to clamber will ensure variety.

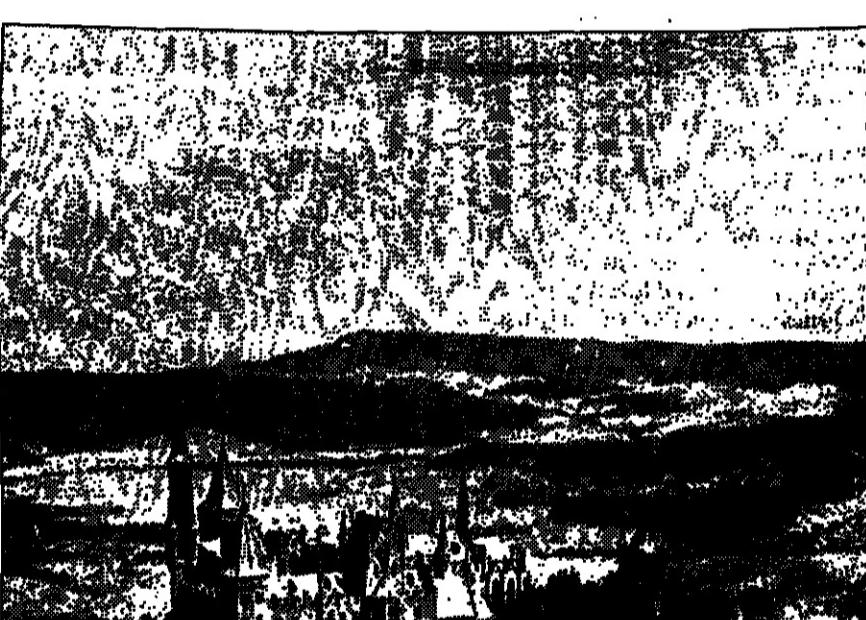
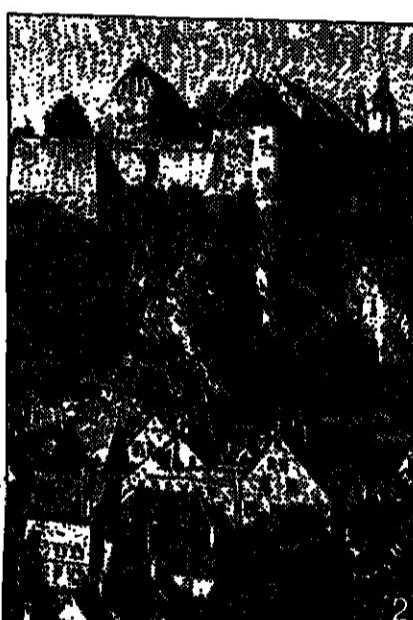
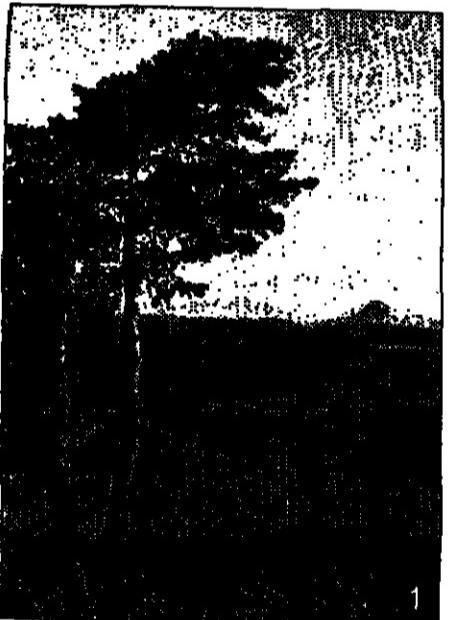
You will also see what you can't see from a car: rare flowers and plants. The route runs over 125 miles through health resorts and nature reserves, passing Baroque churches, late Gothic and Rococo architecture and Hohenzollern Castle, home of the German imperial family.

Visit Germany and let the Swabian Alb Route be your guide.

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS EV
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.



- 1 View of the Hegau region, near Tübingen
- 2 Heidenheim
- 3 Nördlingen
- 4 Urach
- 5 Hohenzollern Castle



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 23 March 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1219 - By air

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Spanish referendum ends Nato cliffhanger

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Government and Opposition in Spain escaped by the skin of their teeth when a respectable majority belied referendum forecasts by voting in favour of staying in Nato.

What they escaped was a sad blow to Nato, a domestic crisis and the risk of unpredictable developments.

All praise and congratulations to the Spaniards, a majority of whom refused to stand aloof from Nato. It is harder to find words of praise for the politicians.

It is hardly a masterpiece for the government and pro-Western Opposition forces to play va banque and wager the destiny of Spain and more on a single card solely for the sake of their own alleged credibility.

Credibility was the motive. Premier Felipe Gonzalez repeatedly mentioned to justify the Nato referendum. Having failed to keep its election campaign promise to create 800,000 new jobs, Spain's Socialist government felt obliged not to break its word on the Nato referendum.

But what credibility is there in keeping a promise to hold a referendum designed to enable Spain to resign from Nato via a referendum and then achieving the exact opposite?

No politician can afford without good reason, especially after Nato membership has twice been endorsed by Parliament, to paralyse the government and keep the country and the entire Western world on tenterhooks for months.

There is nothing to be said in favour of pro-Nato Opposition parties such as Señor Fraga Iribarne's conservative Popular Alliance, calling on its supporters to abstain with a view to letting the government stew in its own juice and the referendum possibly go against Nato.

Señor Fraga now says his call to abstain was intended to avoid relegating Nato membership to a matter of minor importance, but his decision was reached before the wording of the referendum was known.

Given anti-Nato poll forecasts Señor Gonzalez was prepared for the worst.

Nato would have survived a change on its southern flank, especially as US bases in Spain would have been maintained or even reinforced if Spain had resigned from the North Atlantic pact.

Anti-Nato sentiment was certainly not alone in heading the example set by Spain. Maybe a pro-Nato Spanish newspaper was overstating the case when it wrote after the referendum that the country had been on the brink of disaster.

But the only encouraging feature of

the breakneck manoeuvre is that Spain's Nato membership has been endorsed both by Parliament and now, narrowly, by a popular referendum.

It is upsetting to imagine what an anti-Nato vote would have cost Spain (up to a cash outlay of about DM800m). The country would have been torn apart. Anti-Americanism would have been more widespread than ever. Nato would have been taken aback. Fellow-members of the Common Market would have been irked.

The armed forces would have been annoyed. Extreme right-wingers would have gained support, as would the Communists. The Spanish economy would have faltered. Government and Opposition would have been shaken by infighting. The Prime Minister's position would have been endangered.

The majority of "no"s in the Basque country, in Catalonia, Navarre and the Canaries shows how serious the risk was. In all these areas the Nato referendum was used merely as a regional stick with which to beat the central government.

So Spain could easily have voted to resign from Nato merely because a few people or areas wanted to get their own back on Madrid for some disappointment or other.

Señor Gonzalez fought a desperate and impressive last-ditch battle making full use of state-run TV. He was the main reason why the worst was averted in the final days of the referendum campaign.

Painting an appalling picture of the consequences of a "no" vote, he persuaded voters in Socialist strongholds in particular to vote for Nato.

Many Spaniards voted "no" for fear of nuclear war, yet many others, some at the last minute, voted "yes" for the same reason: fear. They were worried something incalculable might lie ahead for Spain and its young democracy if the referendum possibly went against Nato.

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Statesmen from all over the world met in Stockholm for the funeral ceremony for Swedish Premier Olof Palme. Speakers included UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar and SPD leader Willy Brandt. Seen here at the ceremony are US Secretary of State George Shultz (right). See article on page 2. (Photo: dpa)

French voters ring the changes after five years of Socialism

Conservatives and Liberals have regained a majority in the French National Assembly as expected. The Socialists polled over 31 per cent, leaving them still the largest parliamentary party.

The Communists made the best of a bad job. They have eight MPs fewer in the new assembly than in the outgoing parliament, elected in 1981.

French voters rang the changes after five years of socialism. Most polls forecast the swing. The conservative vote is also a slap in the face for François Mitterrand.

"It will be the first time a Fifth Republic French President has had to rule with a National Assembly majority against him."

There can be no question of a massive election victory of the Gaullists and supporters of M. Giscard d'Estaing, but M. Mitterrand did say he would resign if the Opposition won an outstanding victory.

All eyes are now fixed on the Elysée Palace, where Socialist Premier Laurent Fabius was expected at the time of writing to tender his resignation.

If hints that President Mitterrand would be quick to appoint a successor prove true, France may have a new government in time for the first post-poll Cabinet meeting on 19 March.

The Socialists have borne their defeat without too much dismay and with confidence in the future. Initial comments by Socialist leaders show them to have gained fresh hope for the next step; preparations for the Presidential elections in two years' time.

As the largest parliamentary party the Socialists have hopes of retaining the Presidency, but no-one can be sure M. Mitterrand will last the distance until 1988 sharing power with a conservative National Assembly majority.

Lutz Hermann
(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 17 March 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE

PARTY POLITICS

Rau's rapport with the SPD ranks and file, Page 4

PRIVATISATION

Bonn sells state holdings, Page 8

MOTORING

Streamlined, lightweight, new battery: best electric car yet, Page 8

HISTORY

Page 1

PEOPLE

Page 14

MODERN LIVING

Page 16

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Murdered West Bank mayor is another pawn in Palestinian power struggle

Yasser Arafat's "moderate" rump PLO may object in principle to Palestinian notables assuming political responsibility by the grace of Israel in the occupied territories, but Zafer al-Masri, the murdered mayor of Nablus, enjoyed full PLO support.

Appointed mayor of the largest West Bank city, population 100,000, by the Israeli government at the end of last year, he combined three qualities that made him a "dialogue Palestinian par excellence," to quote a diplomat accredited in Amman, the Jordanian capital.

He enjoyed the confidence and respect of the Israelis. He had close ties with the Jordanian monarchy. He was also sufficiently nationalist in outlook as a Palestinian to fully endorse the PLO position after initial hesitation.

The PLO's position is that the Palestinians' right of self-determination and, in theory, to state of their own must be acknowledged prior to their participation in Middle East peace talks.

But the first of those points was enough for extremists in the Palestinian "dispersion" to dismiss him as a traitor and to execute him like other Palestinians before him who had been prepared to come to terms.

With Jordanian and PLO consent al-Masri, a successful businessman and president of the Nablus chamber of commerce, took on the post of mayor to help his home town to get back on its feet economically after three years of Israeli military administration.

Palestinian extremists at their Damascus headquarters, remote from the

Frankfurter Rundschau

realities of everyday life under occupation on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, sat in judgment on him.

They based their judgment on the simple equation "cooperation is collaboration" and sentenced him to death.

His assassination is likely to have brought about an abrupt end Israeli Premier Shimon Peres' concept of "unilateral self-government" as part of which Arab mayors were to be reappointed in a number of West Bank towns.

After the murder of al-Masri no more West Bank Arabs enjoying the full confidence of their fellow-citizens can be expected to take over office at Israel's behest.

The gunfire that killed al-Masri also hit the PLO. In his way the murdered mayor was the kind of West Bank politician the PLO needs if it is to play even an indirect role in the occupied territories.

Flexible he may have been, and ready for dialogue with Israel, but in the final analysis he stood for Palestinian basic principles independent observers agree regarded as inalienable and indispensable by the overwhelming majority of people in the occupied territories.

The Palestinians' right to self-determination could then be dealt with at a later date as an internal Jordanian-Palestinian problem.

Mr Arafat insisted on linking these issues in a single package. In this he appears to have enjoyed the full support of

King Hussein of Jordan and Mr Arafat have just past company again on this very issue. King Hussein accused the Palestinian leaders in a three-and-a-half-hour speech of having broken their promises and forfeited credibility.

He conveyed the impression that the PLO leader had declared himself ready to acknowledge UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as a concession to Israel and the United States and had then gone back on his word.

The PLO and independent Palestinians credibly claimed that this had at no stage been the case, although negotiators had agreed to accept these two UN resolutions, in which the Palestinian question was dealt with strictly as a refugee problem.

But this acceptance was conditional on the other side accepting all other pertinent UN resolutions. "Why," a PLO representative in Amman asks, "are 242 and 338 to be considered internationally binding when all other resolutions confirming our right to self-determination aren't?"

In his negotiations with Mr Arafat about a joint Jordanian-Palestinian peace settlement King Hussein had argued that by acknowledging the two UN resolutions the way would be paved to regaining control over the occupied territories.

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Palestinians in the occupied territories. Since King Hussein's speech in February not a day has passed without delegations from the Transjordan, the Israeli-occupied West Bank, not called at the Royal Palace to claim their loyalty to the King and secure him of their support in his fight with the PLO leader.

But these protestations of loyalty doubtless convey a false impression as far as sentiment on the Bank is concerned.

Western diplomats who have visited the occupied territories returned to Amman convinced; overwhelming majority of Palestinians support Mr Arafat.

If King Hussein had sought bying with Mr Arafat to drive a wedge between people on the West Bank PLO headquarters he seemed to fail in the attempt.

As one Western diplomat put it: "The move has backfired. Arafat registered a respectable gain in prestige by reaffirming the right of self-determination."

These are the kind of headlines government spokesman in Bonn would like to find today.

Palestinian critics of the PLO back agree that Mr Arafat has not sold national interests in his talks with Jordanian monarch.

King Hussein in contrast is said to have sought to establish a dialogue alongside the PLO as representatives of the Palestinian people and to denote the PLO's sole right to represent the Palestinian people as acknowledged at the 1974 Arab summit in Rabat.

Jordanian officials strongly deny any such intention, just as they do that Amman is prepared to hold separate peace talks with Israel.

If King Hussein were to go it alone, any way, officials in Amman insist say, it would be political, not physical, suicide.

*(Peter Gernic
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 March 1986)*

The murder of Swedish Premier Olof Palme testified to the sad truth that there is no such thing as an island of the blessed.

The bullet that killed John F. Kennedy in Dallas, the murder of Aldo Moro in Rome, the Brighton hotel bomb aimed at Margaret Thatcher and now the bullet that killed Olof Palme on the open street — all show there is no such thing as absolute safety.

Long gone are the days when US Presidents could take a morning stroll round the White House without bodyguards and German Chancellors could meet the people without an escort.

We have grown accustomed to the scores of security officials who look after our leaders. Next to no-one is perturbed to see the Pope's blessing believers from a bulletproof glass showcase.

The retinue of heavily armed guards on state visits has come to be seen as a matter of course, just like the bulletproof cars used by Cabinet Ministers.

Sweden used to be an exception, a lucky country where the Prime Minister went to the cinema with his wife and sent his bodyguards home. But those happy days are now over.

We still don't know who the murderer was. A madman? A political fanatic? A man motivated by personal dislikes or by the dictates of his convictions?

For long after the Second World

Palme — pointless end to a life in the service of peace

DIE ZEIT

War Sweden was seen as a model, a country that seemed to have found the happy medium between socialism and capitalism.

Then the Social Democratic dream was rudely awakened by financial constraints. Equality degenerated into egalitarianism, the quest for justice into conformism. Critics exaggeratedly accused Sweden of being a welfare dictatorship.

The Swedish model had its wings clipped by the need to economise. The Swedish Social Democrats were upset. Maybe the murderer was motivated by some strange concept of justice?

He may, of course, have been a member of one of the many movements that lurk in the shadows of world affairs.

He was no less consistent in championing the cause of peace. A minority of states possess nuclear weapons, he used to say, but a majority of mankind would die if they were ever used.

So the small fry, he argued, had every right to speak out. Indeed, they were duty-bound to do so.

Palme thought nothing of upsetting the great power. As a Cabinet Minister he took part in rallies against the US role in Vietnam. He also pilloried the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

He demonstratively sided with whomever he saw as the underdogs, people such as Arafat, Castro, the Sandinistas.

He failed in his bid to mediate between Iraq and Iran but he was undimmed.

The Palme Commission's dismantlement proposals ran counter to existing views.

He was a moral politician, at times moralising one.

As a statesman he towered above his colleagues.

Modest Hammarskjöld has a Swede who achieved his international stature.

His outstanding characteristic was his desire for peace.

His death in a hail of bullets was the pointless end of an undaunted life.

*(Theo Sommer
Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 March 1986)*

The German Tribune

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BONN

Kohl on the crest of a trough?

Hamburger Abendblatt

Gone are the days when government spokesman Friedhelm Ost could quote an internationally respected newspaper such as the *Financial Times* to confirm that Chancellor Helmut Kohl was held in high esteem abroad.

At the end of January, for example, the *Financial Times* wrote that "Mr Kohl suddenly appears to be invincible."

These are the kind of headlines government spokesman in Bonn would like to find today.

Disputes within the government coalition over internal security legislation, the heated public debate regarding paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act, the legal proceedings instigated against the Chancellor by the Green MP Otto Schily, and, finally, the substantial losses suffered by Chancellor Kohl's party during recent local government elections have turned Helmut the Invincible into Helmut the Dislikeable within the short space of just six weeks.

Helmut Kohl himself, however, has also got to come to terms with a disadvantage which is almost typical for conservative-liberal coalitions.

"The broad mass of CDU members do not do enough to spread the government's political message," the Chancellor's Office claims.

Addressing the leaders of the CDU in the *Länder* this criticism is more specific:

"Efforts to boost one's own image are more pronounced in our party than efforts on behalf of the common cause."

The desire to stay in power should make party colleagues adopt a more reasonable stance. Conservative and liberal parties, however, often lack discipline.

One of his closest advisers refuted all claims that the latest election disaster had left Kohl cold by pointing out that "he would have to be a robot not to show any reaction at all and not to regard the election result in Schleswig-Holstein as a bitter defeat".

His adviser added that Kohl's main concern now is to take the necessary steps to improve the situation.

This basically means clearing the controversial political issues which are confusing voters out of the way as fast as possible.

The government is hoping to push its proposed amendment to paragraph 116 of the Labour Promotion Act through parliament before the Easter recess in an effort to take this issue out of the limelight of party-political discussions.

Only about a third of Bundestag members came along to the eagerly awaited discussion.

In view of this disappointing turnout many observers asked themselves whether the whole thing was just an act of parliamentary self-purification.

The Flick investigation committee was appointed to take a look into party-political funding involving the Flick Group.

Thirdly, the coalition must start discussing the remaining draft legislation on internal security.

Since the SPD was in a coalition government with the FDP during the winter, it had no option but to grin and bear the cutting aphorisms on the part of a government which was free of corruption.

Social Democrat Wilfried Pehner stressed that his party regards contributions to political parties as legitimate and necessary providing they "do not lead to or encourage dependence".

Furthermore, the parties themselves have never really agreed on what was to be investigated.

The Greens and some members of the SPD felt that investigations should focus on the susceptibility of government institutions to "financial lobbying" by industry.

The government-coalition parties in contrast wanted investigations to be limited to the tax exemption practices of the 1970s.

The government-coalition chairman Latziger (CDU) supported the view forwarded by his parliamentary colleagues from the SPD.

This Bundestag debate represented at least a formal conclusion to an import-

Both Chancellor Kohl and his followers are astonishingly calm when faced with the extremely fierce criticism often levelled against them by the media.

Many of Kohl's supporters feel that it is only natural that the man who spearheads the government of the day will be the main butt of public criticism for unpopular policies.

They also feel that there are many people who still criticise Helmut Kohl the way he did in October 1982.

The Chancellor's advisers feel that this partly explains why, in contrast to his predecessor in office, Helmut Schmidt on

Chancellor faces legal probe, political motives alleged

The public prosecutor's office in Bonn is the second legal authority to take up preliminary investigations into allegations that Chancellor Kohl gave false testimony to an investigation committee.

The spokesman of the Bonn public prosecutor confirmed that the president of the Bundestag, Philipp Jenninger, had been informed of the office's intentions.

The public prosecutor in Bonn will be examining the testimony Chancellor Kohl gave to the Flick investigation committee.

Kohl did not appear to be surprised at the announcement by the public prosecutor in Bonn.

On his way out of a meeting between the CDU and CSU he said that he had been expecting this to happen for some time.

Although he said there were certain reasons for this assumption he was not willing to go into details.

Government spokesman Friedhelm Ost maintained that there were sufficient initial grounds to suspect false testimony.

The spokesman emphasised that the question of further consequences, i.e. the dropping of legal proceedings or the possibility of a proper trial, can only be answered after preliminary investigations have been carried out.

The Bundestag has the possibility of vetoing such proceedings against the Chancellor within 48 hours of official notification. This, however, has never happened.

Nevertheless, there are no signs of resignation in the conservative camp.

The Chancellor's spring offensive is planned to begin after Easter. It will then be time for the Chancellor to lead his "troops" into the election battle.

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■ PARTY POLITICS

Rau's rapport with the SPD rank and file

SONNTAGSBLATT

Both CDU Chancellor Helmut Kohl and SPD Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau currently seem to be reacting exaggeratedly, albeit in opposite directions.

The Chancellor sounds an exaggeratedly optimistic note in saying he has no doubt that his Christian Democrats will fare extremely well in next January's general election.

The Shadow Chancellor sounds an unduly pessimistic note when he gives the SPD a verbal drubbing, accusing it of lack of discipline, loyalty and commitment.

Each seems in his way to be suffering from a disturbed sense of reality — always assuming their exaggerations are not merely a matter of tactics.

Herr Kohl's outlook is well-known, whereas Herr Rau's temperament and the interface between his personality and that of his party, which has seen many a leader come and go over the years, have yet to be thoroughly outlined.

Herr Rau, the North Rhine-Westphalian Premier, is nicknamed Brother Johannes, a reference to the impression he conveys as the Protestant lay preacher he is.

For months this nickname, used ironically but in admiration by Social Democrats and disparagingly by Christian Democrats, has obscured the important issue of how the SPD has adapted to its Shadow Chancellor and how he has adapted to it.

The verbal drubbing he recently gave his party came as a surprise; it was something new, coming from him, which was probably what it was intended to be.

But did only the SPD need to be confronted with a new and tougher Johannes Rau or was public opinion in need of a Shadow Chancellor who showed greater will power?

If this were the chief consideration the problem in need of solution would be less the SPD, as indicated by Herr Rau, who criticised the party, than its candidate for Chancellor, whose image was (and still is)

in need of improvement. The shortcomings of his image are largely taboo in the SPD and only a handful of Social Democrats discuss openly whether Herr Rau as he has so far presented himself is their ideal candidate.

He may accuse the party of not yet aiming to win next year's general election with sufficient enthusiasm and determination, but the accusation could be levelled at him too.

Many Social Democrats who would be prepared to campaign wholeheartedly to gain an absolute majority feel Johannes Rau lacks for the time being the personality to fire their imagination.

Both the party and its Shadow Chancellor await each other's effect.

It goes without saying that Social Democrats rush to his defence when the CDU claims their Shadow Chancellor is in hiding.

But many Social Democrats are far from sure they approve of his restraint and wonder whether it might be better for him to campaign more keenly and distinctively.

At the CDU party conference uniting the party's Rhineland and Westphalian regions CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler accused Herr Rau of being a vague, blurred candidate.

That was such a polemical claim it was unlikely to have much effect on Herr Rau's public image. A much more intelligent and dangerous analysis of the SPD Shadow Chancellor was made by North Rhine-Westphalian CDU leader Kurt Biedenkopf.

He is keen to bring the public debate on Herr Rau to a point at which a clear distinction is drawn between Rau the individual and Rau the candidate.

Herr Rau's claim to want to reconcile rather than to divide is, he says, typical of the individual and unacceptable inasmuch as general election voters will have to decide on Herr Rau's qualities as a politician, not as an individual.

He will naturally be made responsible for the SPD's campaign and its campaign performance this year.

Herr Biedenkopf said the CDU could not accept this "division of labour" between Johannes Rau and himself, fighting for fair play in politics; and Jo-

hannes Rau the politician spearheading an SPD fighting for power with all the means at its command.

This interpretation virtually raises the issues Herr Rau dealt with, albeit from a different angle, in criticising the SPD. But what Herr Biedenkopf sees as a subtle division of labour between Herr Rau and the SPD does not really exist.

The Social Democrats have more or less drifted into a twofold approach, and that is the main reason why Herr Rau was so critical of them.

He would like to see the entire SPD toe his line and is no longer prepared to tolerate party groups that overemphasise fringe issues.

He is worried parts of the party might break ranks during the election campaign and upset his concept. Media coverage heightened the impression that the SPD was in the throes of infighting again.

In reality this impression is misleading. Recent SPD views and proposals that have hit the headlines do not confirm the impression that the SPD is in the process of immolating itself again; far from it.

In comparison with the final stage of the Schmidt era the SPD today seems extremely united. Herr Rau's clarion call was basically intended only to close ranks entirely — an aim understandable enough but one that risks asking too much of the party.

The SPD is a party geared to programmatic policy statements. No matter how much it may appreciate the Shadow Chancellor's concern for campaign tactics it finds it hard to come to terms with Herr Rau's comment that it is more important to be "close to the citizen" than absolutely accurate where the party programme is concerned.

To this day Social Democrats find it hard to be totally enthusiastic without a target that at least appears to be programmatic in character.

The problem Herr Rau faces is that of attracting as many voters as possible from the middle of the road, a category the experts feel amounts to 30 per cent of the electorate.

They are why he is so insistent on the need to be "close to the citizen." Yet he can only motivate his own party by advocating views and objectives that are clearly and unmistakably Social Democratic in character.

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Johannes Rau

(Photo: dpa)

Clement he ventures to say that only: SPD is still a popular party (i.e. a part of the whole people).

The CDU, he argues, can no longer claim to represent the entire people. Oddly enough this claim has so far virtually unnoticed.

"We must make it clear," he says, "that the CDU is not a party of the entire people. It divides and includes us all. It is in the process of becoming a pressure group for the privileged."

"We contrast pursue policies on behalf of the majority of the people. Our concepts include social progress and reconciliation."

"A party that objectively pursues policies for the majority of the population must do all it can to actively enlist the approval of this majority."

In major sectors the SPD has already made it clear that it is prepared to follow Rau's footsteps here, both in home affairs and, even more so, in foreign affairs.

An entire range of problematic issues

has been clarified as favoured by the Shadow Chancellor with a view to reducing drastically the number of stumbling blocks the party may encounter in the course of the campaign.

They include rejection of the Green as a possible coalition ally in Bonn, careful disassociation from the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and a reappraisal of the medium-range missiles zero option to which the SPD was so strongly opposed three years ago.

So in reality Herr Rau has no cause to complain that might seem the case.

The Social Democrats are showing every sign of readiness to adapt.

He has been infuriated by a few missteps such as the proposal to scrap reification in the preamble to the Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, the suggestion that the age of consent should be reduced to fourteen.

But on major issues the SPD is very much toeing Rau's line. The SPD can no longer be seriously accused of being anti-American. The rapprochement between the SPD and the Reagan administration sealed by Herr Rau's visit to Washington at the beginning of February has pulled the rug from under the anti-American campaign long envisaged by CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler.

So the Christian Democrats may not be able to play the foreign policy card against the SED to the extent that might have hoped.

The Social Democrats can be seen to have closed ranks round Johannes Rau to a greater degree than he is prepared for whatever reason — to administer a blow to the SED.

Jürgen Kramm
Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung
Hamburg, 16 March 1986

Everyday life in the new North Rhine-Westphalian region seems sure to bring euphoria down to earth with a vengeance once the merger fever is over.

The Düsseldorf conference did not deal first and foremost with how the CDU was to regain power in Düsseldorf and Bonn; it was primarily a personal triumph for Kurt Biedenkopf.

Rhinelanders and Westphalians are poles apart temperamentally; their differences cannot be eliminated merely by paperwork.

Continued on page 6



Kurt Biedenkopf

(Photo: dpa)

Biedenkopf stages comeback in CDU regional merger

The two CDU regions in North Rhine-Westphalia were merged at a conference in Düsseldorf. An overwhelming majority of the 600 delegates, 91.5 per cent, voted for Kurt Biedenkopf head of the combined North Rhine-Westphalian CDU, which has 260,000 members, or roughly 40 per cent of CDU membership. So North Rhine-Westphalia will hold over one vote in three at CDU conferences.

The merger of the Rhineland and North Rhine-Westphalian CDU regions is a historic occasion for the CDU in the country's most populous Land.

But it would be overstating its significance to infer that the Christian Democrats on the Rhine and in the Ruhr have now emerged from their trough.

Rhinelanders and Westphalians are poles apart temperamentally; their differences cannot be eliminated merely by paperwork.

Everyday life in the new North Rhine-Westphalian region seems sure to bring euphoria down to earth with a vengeance once the merger fever is over.

The Düsseldorf conference did not deal first and foremost with how the CDU was to regain power in Düsseldorf and Bonn; it was primarily a personal triumph for Kurt Biedenkopf.

He was largely responsible for the merger and has slowly but surely paved

No. 1219 • 23 March 1986.

THE GERMAN TRIBUNE:

■ DEFENCE

Munich congress sceptical about Geneva prospects

DIE ZEIT

The Western security policy Establishment, which met in Munich for the annual defence policy conference, currently lacks the courage to clearly specify what it feels is needed to defend the West and what shape East-West ties should take.

Problems are quietly left to simmer. Circumspection and restraint have predominated throughout the alliance since the superpower leaders, Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachov, have so escalated their disarmament proposals as to monopolise the general tenor of the security debate.

Leading representatives of the security Establishment, 150 in number, met in Munich over the first weekend in March to discuss balance and imbalance of power between East and West.

Yet they took good care to ensure that President Reagan's leadership in disarmament policy views was not called into question as long as the Geneva talks made no headway.

A gathering including several Defence Ministers and leading politicians, senior diplomats and high-ranking military men nonetheless made it clear where the political and military weak links in the chain of Western security lay.

In debate, particularly discussions outside the conference hall, scepticism was in ample evidence in assessing the prospects of success at the Geneva talks.

British and French speakers avoided expressing an opinion on the German Defence Minister's approval in principle of the defensive doctrine behind SDI. They clearly felt Bonn's position was wrong.

Many Americans feel official disarmament targets are far too high, but everyone realises that in the rivalry between Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachov since last autumn for the best disarmament plan neither side can allow itself to be outdone.

Besides, Mr Reagan's summit diplomacy has brought about a tremendous swing in sentiment in his favour. Both politicians and experts within the Western alliance take a far different view of the President from when, for instance, he presented his SDI plans.

Yet SDI was intended to toll the death knell of the regime of nuclear horror, and SDI is, in the final analysis, the reason why the Russians returned to the Geneva conference table.

The security experts who met in Munich showed sympathy both to Mr Reagan and to the new Soviet leader, who was so highly rated that many surmised a pragmatic Soviet foreign policy realignment were viable.

Not all were as optimistic as Biedenkopf, however, who said Mr Gorbachov neither wanted a military conflict nor was prepared to forgo military options.

Chancellor Kohl had sacked him and sent him to the provinces to get rid of a tiresome rival.

Initially Herr Biedenkopf was luckless and had to let Rhineland CDU leader Bernhard Worms lead the CDU in last year's state assembly elections. Many felt that marked the end of his career.

Yet he never gave up. After the worst defeat the CDU had ever suffered in North Rhine-Westphalia he grasped the opportunity of staging a comeback. A merger of the two regions seemed just the job.

He has pulled it off and the fact that he is due to hand over to his deputy in

two years' time in no way detracts from his success.

No-one who knows Biedenkopf will doubt for a moment that by then he will be home and dry. Chancellor Kohl's brief appearance in Düsseldorf demonstrated that he was well aware Herr Biedenkopf was back with a vengeance.

With 40 per cent of CDU membership and over a third of the delegates at party conferences behind him, Herr Biedenkopf is stronger than ever.

Yet he will also realise that facts are needed, and not just bright ideas, to convince opponents of the merger that there was more to it than boosting Kurt Biedenkopf's career.

He knows from bitter personal experience that the CDU rewards only success.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 10 March 1986)

Kurt Becker
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 March 1986)

US Defence Under-Secretary Fred Ikle, chairman Ewald von Kleist and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss at the Munich defence conference
(Photo: dpa)

New weapons technologies are to be developed to ensure that forward defence need not be abandoned or an aggressor need have no fear of the destruction of his hinterland because nuclear options have been dispensed with.

Mr Ikle is not, however, regarded as a man intimately associated with the framing of current White House policy. He is considered to belong to a category of right-wing Republicans whose influence on President Reagan has declined.

A change for the better in the assessment of the Reagan administration was apparent in Munich in connection with whether the United States was planning to decouple from its European allies in security terms, given a possible reduction in American nuclear presence on this side of the Atlantic.

The prevailing view was that decoupling was not triggered by weapon systems. It was felt to be a matter of political will.

The importance of technology for security policy has for some time seemed likely to become a fashionable issue. But in Munich the German Social Democrat Horst Ehmke met with scant approval of his tenet, in a paper on modern weapons technology, that the borderline between nuclear and conventional arms must not become blurred.

In comparison this year's Munich speech by Fred Ikle of the Pentagon was bound to make one stop and think. He referred with the greatest detachment to the fascinating desire within Nato for a world with stable, peaceful frontiers.

What he wanted to see was greater emphasis on conventional defence.

Ex-Senator John Tower, the former US negotiator in Geneva, denied that America had any strivings for military superiority on the basis of a technological edge.

Many dramatic security policy judgments on the weakness of the West at Munich were attributable to current uncertainty.

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■ PRIVATISATION

Bonn sells state holdings, boosts private enterprise**SOLD OUT COMPANIES**

One of the present Bonn government's basic principles is that private initiative and private property should be given priority over public-sector business activities and state ownership.

This fundamental policy principle was clearly outlined in a Cabinet resolution passed on 21 March 1985.

Yet the Federal government still acts as an entrepreneur in a free market economy. Is this a contradiction in terms? A number of economic facts and figures would seem to indicate that it is.

At the end of 1984, for example, the Federal government held direct and indirect shares in 474 businesses, including Deutsche Bundesbahn, the railways, and Deutsche Bundespost, the post office.

The nominal capital of all enterprises in which the government and its special agencies had a direct stake amounted to just under DM13bn at the end of 1984, of which the Federal government accounted for just under DM7bn.

Almost 200,000 workers were employed in firms in which the government had majority interests.

If the employees of the VEBA and Volkswagen companies (companies in which the government has minority interests) are also taken into account we arrive at a figure of over half a million workers who are directly or indirectly dependent on the government.

The government is both entrepreneur and employer. Its dividend income, however, is not all that impressive...

The direct investment income of the government, which acts as a banker, produces coal, steel, aluminium, cars, electricity, gas, tools, nuts and bolts and industrial plant of all kinds and also trades in building materials, chemicals and oil, was estimated at just under DM230m in 1985.

Were the government to act in strict accordance with the principles of private enterprise it would either have to try and improve the return on its investment capital or stop being an entrepreneur altogether.

It has failed to invest its, or to put it more precisely, the taxpayers' money in an optimum manner.

The government shares would be guaranteed a much better return, for example, on the capital market. The entrepreneurial qualities of the government leave a great deal to be desired.

Sometimes the government is overgenerous, as in the case of the Bundesbahn, which this year received a subsidy of over DM13bn:

On other occasions, it reacts like a mean capitalist. The Bundespost, for example, shamelessly takes advantage of its position as a monopoly enterprise.

There are, however, cases where the government has shown itself to be an "efficient" entrepreneur able to put ailing firms back on their feet.

Salzgitter AG, which is 100 per cent government-owned, is a good example. The company made a profit of about DM50m in 1984/85 following losses of over DM700m during the two previous

years, losses on a scale that threatened to disqualify the state as an entrepreneur.

Sometimes the government looks very much like a bankrupt selling off the family silver to get some ready cash.

It had no trouble, for example, reducing its share in the VEBA AG from almost 44 to 30 per cent of the company's nominal capital.

Although the government received DM770m for these shares the amount is, of course, a once-only payment, whereas dividend earnings are a more regular source of income.

Privatisation bids by the Bonn government look very half-hearted.

In some cases, such as VEBA, it has no scruples about selling off its shares, whereas it shies away from such a move in others.

At the same time the government would have to make sure that the government and government-owned enterprises did not move into fields where they do not belong.

It is extremely difficult to understand why the Bundespost is involved in the banking business.

Furthermore, the planned sale of the Bundesbahn's share in the tourist company Deutsches Reisebüro has been delayed.

This chain of oddities would suggest that government circles are still not clear about the tasks and functions of government in its role as entrepreneur.

Were the government to share the generally accepted view that privately owned firms are better *per se* than state-run enterprises it would have to start selling off its "problem cases" such as Salzgitter or Saarberg rather than its stake in extremely healthy firms like VEBA or VIAG.

What is more, if the government were to stick to its own principles it would also have to privatisate Lufthansa and not just VEBA and similar companies.

Partial privatisation is neither one thing nor the other.

If, on the other hand, the government were to support the principle that one of the main tasks of the public sector is to make sure that a modern industrialised society can function smoothly by controlling transport, communication and energy supply services it is no good selling off its shares in VEBA and Lufthansa.

The interests of government are very often privately motivated.

Which politician doesn't like to sit on the supervisory board of a prestigious and money-spinning company?

Klaus Hofmeier
(Deutsche Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung, Hamburg, 9 March 1986)

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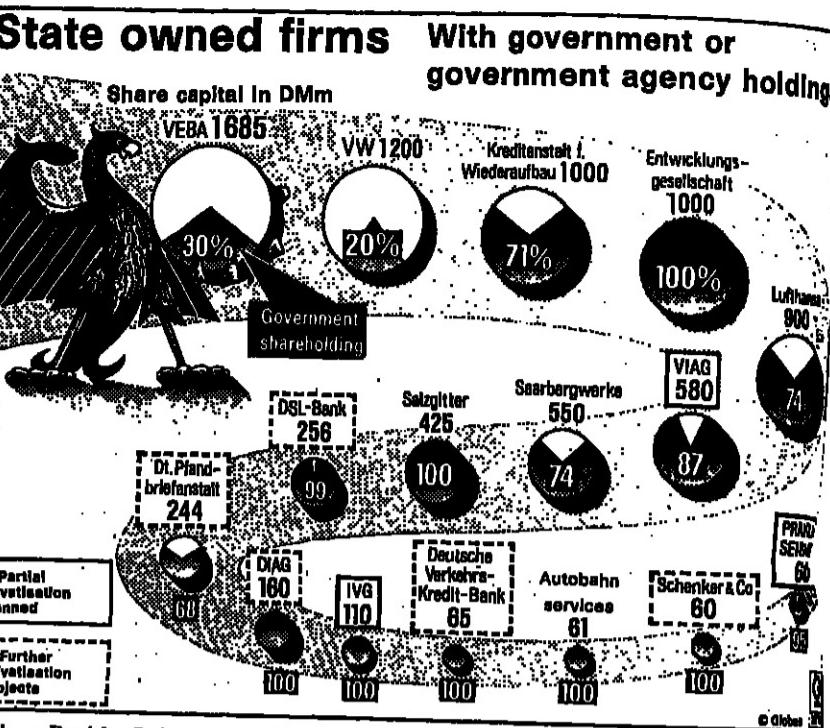
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(Die Welt, Bonn, 3 March 1986)

**Next tranche in June**

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has been given Cabinet approval to sell off government shares in VIAG and Prakla-Seismos companies in June and in the Industrieverwaltungsgesellschaft (IVG) company in September.

Forty per cent of the DM580m capital stock of the VIAG company (DM232m) is too be sold to as many small shareholders as possible.

Following an increase in capital stock from DM500m to DM600m 47 per cent of the Prakla-Seismos company (including the five per cent share of the IVG) to be sold.

Prakla-Seismos became a joint stock company in 1985.

A Finance Ministry statement announced that the voting right of the shares will be limited to five per cent so as to guarantee the company's independence.

Employee shares are to be made available in both cases. This also applies to the IVG, 45 per cent of which will be sold.

In his report Stoltenberg referred to further privatisation candidates.

No vital government interests, he said, stand in the way of a transformation of the Deutsche Pfandbriefbank (DEPFA) into a private-law mortgage bank.

A gradual reduction of government involvement in the bank's activities is thus planned.

A final appraisal, in particular of tax questions, has yet to be completed, the case of the Deutsche Siedlungs- und Landesrentenbank (DSL).

Talks are continuing in the case of Lufthansa airline company.

The Deutsche Verkehrs-Kreditbank has already been appraised.

A 24.9 per cent reduction of shares in the Bundesbahn is planned, an increase in capital stock in 1986.

Scheinker & Co, a Bundesbahn road haulage subsidiary, is also being examined. It is hoped that the Bundesbahn's share here will be reduced by 24.9 per cent during 1986.

Stoltenberg announced that state-run companies Salzgitter and Saarberg, were no longer in the red.

Salzgitter has been able to make good its DM712m losses (1982/83) by recording a profit of DM30m in 1984/85.

Saarberg, which recorded a loss of DM507m in 1983, expects a more balanced result for 1985, let alone 1986.

The Efta countries are more closely related to the central European Com-

■ EUROPE

Bonn keen on CAP reform, but cost will be crux

Bonn seems at present to be the one government among the 12 European Community countries that is making tremendous efforts to reform the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

The European Commission presented its Green Paper in July 1985. This was amplified in the autumn, but it has not been easy to put its proposals into operation.

German Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kieckle would like to begin all over again and revive the farm price policy talks.

He would like to put the flagging reform debate on a new course so that we and our partners in the Community can devise a fresh strategy.

Kieckle is well aware that adjustments, changes and new arrangements can only be undertaken on a European scale and not just at the national level.

He regards the concept, developed by the Brussels Commission and presented by its Dutch vice-president Frans Andriessen, as partly wrong-headed and partly too short-term and short-sighted.

The Commission wants to introduce policies to reduce production by reducing agricultural prices in real terms, and so reducing surpluses.

Kieckle favours an "active price policy" as a vital aspect of structuring and safeguarding income levels.

Rewards would be given for reduced agricultural production.

Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht has chaired a CDU/CSU committee set up to draft a new agricultural policy.

This committee's concept offers bonuses for voluntarily closing down a farm and for using arable land for ecological purposes.

The European Community of twelve and the European Free Trade Association (Efta) are moving closer to one another.

Efta was formed in 1960 and is now made up of six countries: Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Norway, Finland and Iceland.

Two factors are influencing closer cooperation between them: first the accession of Spain and former Efta member Portugal to the Community and secondly trade and industrial pressure from Japan and America.

The 18 countries want more than a free trade area of a united Europe and closer joint cooperation in research.

They want to develop a combined economic zone of more than 350 million consumers into a base for research and development in modern information and telecommunications systems.

The accession of Spain and Portugal is a fine opportunity to take out of the archives any number of worthwhile expressions of intent, thus laying the foundations for a new political life.

Forthcoming international negotiations are good enough reason for doing this.

Industry in Europe has waited long enough for the politicians to overcome administrative problems so as to create a free trade zone with a true European investment area within which capital can be transferred without restriction.

That is the basis for restructuring industry for mass production and for developing and introducing modern technology.

The politicians must do something other than just stand around, diagnosing the situation and proposing remedies.

They must limit the risks for investors in Europe.

Both organisations, whose economies

are export-oriented, are opposed to growing protectionism in world trade. Both will stand up for European economic interests in the next round of Gatt negotiations and at the next Western economic summit in May.

The Community and Efta have reached agreement on ridding their trade of technical and administrative hindrances and for working closer together in industrial affairs.

This primarily involves harmonising industrial standards, the rules of competition and access to government contracts as well as research and development into modern information and telecommunications systems.

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Both organisations, whose economies

Europe must invest DM20bn in Euro-R&D

Karl-Heinz Narjes, vice-president of the European Commission, says the Twelve must find nine billion ECUs (almost DM19.5bn) between 1987 and 1991 to fund a scientific and technological community.

That is not a lot when compared with the 230 billion ECUs the Common Market countries plan to spend on domestic research and development over the same period.

The Commission points out that no single member-country, no matter how large, can tackle all technological challenges with its own resources.

The Commission went on to say that the Community should cooperate with the Eureka project, which promises so much, and in which many non-EC states will take part.

Eureka will further Europe's competitive ability, improve the quality of life and establish a "Europe of researchers."

The first Community programme from 1984 to 1987 involves 3.75 billion ECUs.

The second, the Commission says, must amplify seven national and Eureka projects that can benefit from the Common Market's economic area and treaty regulations.

This would be in contrast to looser arrangements for Eureka cooperation, where results could either take too long to appear or not appear at all.

The Europeans are poor devils. Just how much technological assistance they need was shown when trying to make telephone call from Cologne to Brussels. For more than 20 minutes there was no line.

The European central telephone exchange in Brussels, hailed when it was put into operation almost ten years ago as the most modern in the world, had to close down for six hours recently.

A number has to be dialled several times usually to make a local call in Brussels, Europe's capital, at a peak period.

Four technological sectors, with information and telecommunications technology at the top, would take up 60 per cent of the funds. Trying to telephone in Europe shows just how urgent the position is.

There are dangers if the Community remains in its present unsatisfactory situation. West German Commission vice-president Narjes has made a start with his 10 billion ECUs.

A Commission statement said, however, that this would have to be cut by a billion and only introduced gradually because the Community was short of money.

In this year alone, due to the weak American dollar, the subsidy burden for the export of surplus agricultural products has leapt up by at least a billion ECUs.

Insiders in Brussels believe that plans for the technological future will be strangled by lack of money.

But the money is required primarily to make up for mistakes of the past. For 25 years farmers have not been told how much they could really earn if they continuously over-produced.

Europe's technology emergency cannot be relieved at the farmers' expense and there can be no question of stalling and leaving our grandchildren to foot the bill.

If the Common Market needs more money West European leaders must face up to their responsibilities. A stop must be made to economies in all the wrong places.

Hermann Bohle
(Kiel Nachrichten, 8 March 1986)

■ ART

Three Kokoschka exhibitions in Hamburg mark artist's birth centenary



Three Oskar Kokoschka exhibitions have opened in Hamburg this month. Vienna is to mount an exhibition of his landscapes and London is planning a lavish retrospective of his works.

In this, his birth centenary year, his significance as an artist is being reassessed.

There is an exhibition entitled *The Early Years* — 1906 to 1926, in Hamburg's Kunsthalle, featuring drawings and water colours from this period.

In Hamburg's Balthaus an exhibition of his post-1930 prints has opened and in the Hamburg Arts and Crafts Museum his stage designs and illustrations from 1907 to 1980 are on show.

Kokoschka was born in Pöchlarn, Austria, in 1886. When an exhibition of young Austrian artists was held in Vienna in 1911 a wave of outrage swept the general public. Unruly talents had made their presence felt.

Archduke Franz Ferdinand pitifully commented: "The man ought to have every bone in his body broken."

The man in question was Kokoschka and most critics felt he concocted his colours from poisonous putrefaction, fermenting pathogenic juices.

They complained that he smeared his paint like cream and let it harden into crusts, encrusted scars.

He painted faces showing the boredom of office life, people with greed for lucre hanging around for their luck to change, according to a review in the Viennese *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

The paper said that admirers of these works were neorastheans seeking titillation or German obscurants.

Vituperation of this kind against Kokoschka was not new. From the great Vienna art exhibition of 1908 onwards he upset his contemporaries with his expressive and excessive art.

For some time he had had a prejudice against formal and academic rules of art. A critic wrote of him that the Norwegian Edvard Munch was a genial old gentleman compared to Kokoschka.

Sixty years later the scourge of the bourgeois was himself an old man, arguably a Grand Old Man and certainly much in demand for portraits of West German VIPs.

He painted portraits of Theodor Heuss, Ludwig Erhard and Konrad Adenauer. He was loaded with honours and he became a figure in art history.

But he did not become sacrosanct, and his early works of rebellion are readily compared with his later works.

The New York art dealer Serge Sabarsky has selected the works shown for the Hamburg Kunsthalle exhibition, as he did, among others, for the Hanover show at the Kestner-Gesellschaft.

More than 50 prints are identical with those displayed previously, but there are some important omissions, particularly the portrait of Alma Mahler.

Kokoschka began his art studies in 1905 at the Vienna art school. Austrian fin de siècle art had woken from its

Sleeping Beauty period to its artistic spring. There was an air of euphoria in art circles.

Gustav Klimt was the idol of the younger generation of artists. Kokoschka and Egon Schiele competed with him with their drawings, elegance and precision in line.

Kokoschka used material from fairy tales in the poetic illustrations he created for his volume of poems *The Sleeping Youth*.

The figures drawn with hard lines are enclosed in a dream world surrounded with haloes.

As in most of his poetry Kokoschka deals with man and woman, Eros and impulses, attraction and destruction.

In 1907 he wrote his ecstatic, provocative play entitled *Murder - the Hope of Women*.

The premiere in 1909 was an uproar. Kokoschka had his head shorn for the occasion so as to show himself as "a marked man."

He presented himself in the same way in a 1912 print on display at the Kunsthalle.

He was also shown on a red-background poster with his face surrounded by barbed-wire and his index finger pointing to a wound in his breast. Kokoschka, the protector of beautiful make-believe, has become its destroyer.

This aggressive phase is hardly apparent in the Hamburg Art Gallery exhibition.

He wrote in his memoirs, published in 1971, mingling fact and fiction: "I could get away with anything in Dresden."

The many figures from his student years are drawn with muted lines, with angular awkwardness and brittleness, stylised and painted in tender and sombre colours.

From 1910 onwards his drawings changed. The strokes were sharp, coming together in narrow hatching or they were crinkled.

The number of commissions he received for portraits increased during this period, won for him by the tireless efforts of his friend and sponsor Adolf Loos.

During this period he painted his *Windsbraut*, showing Kokoschka and his beloved Alma united but adrift on the ocean.

During his Dresden years he painted pictures with wide areas of impasto, loud colour.

Then suddenly in 1923 he decided to leave the city that had become too small for him. He travelled considerably through Europe, to Egypt and Algeria.

Kokoschka portrayed Loos bent for-

ward slightly with his face in white and red pastel shades.

During this period Kokoschka achieved the height of his artistic style, described as the X-ray look, visionary empathy with his model. He was very proud of this in his later years.

Life in hectic Berlin was in strong contrast to what he had known in Vienna. The atmosphere was busy, exciting. Expressionism was on the way in.

There were mournful idlers with traces of Freud about them. There was decadence lacking in aesthetics. Behind it all the imposing facade was crumbling into decay.

When Kokoschka returned to Vienna he was deeply involved in a love affair with Alma Mahler, widow of the composer, and this affair came to an end.

The outbreak of the First World War came at the right time for Kokoschka. In 1914 he wrote to Franz Marc: "I congratulate you on the distinction of having been accepted to fight for your country."

He was enthusiastic about the work of German artists and the new world view.

He volunteered for service and observed the fighting for a while as though it were some kind of costume play.

Then he came down to earth. He was wounded, disillusioned and in 1919 friends arranged an art college job for him in Dresden.

He wrote in his memoirs, published in 1971, mingling fact and fiction: "I could get away with anything in Dresden."

The huge life-size female doll, for instance, that Kokoschka created as a kind of fetish symbol was a true-to-life replica of Alma Mahler who had vanished from his life.

This failed likeness ended up, after a wild party, beheaded on a rubbish dump.

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Kokoschka, Self-Portrait, 1920

In the early 1920s he produced beautiful water-colour figures, (they can be seen at the Kunsthalle), then suddenly gave up drawing.

The prolific portrait-painter became a landscape and cityscape artist, going new dimensions to his field of vision.

His view became panoramic, whirlwind of houses and mountains, pictures in which rivers and valleys twist and turn. The colours were noticeable lighter.

The construction and rhythm of the pictures showed him to be a successor of the Austrian Baroque painters. In his later years he remained extremely temperamental.

When Hitler came to power he emigrated, first to Prague and then London. In 1937 the Nazis confiscated 417 Kokoschka works from German galleries and museums.

In painting outdoors he started using ordinary crayons. He was given many commissions for portraits, drew anti-war posters, donated his works to military hospitals and pleaded for tolerance and freedom.

After the war he travelled again and settled in Switzerland. He was wooed by Austria and established an unconventional art school in Salzburg. Here he tried to show that a painter had first to be able to see before he could gain insight.

After 1945 his works, produced from a light palette, were impressionistic whether they were cityscapes or portraits of the famous.

Adenauer was not too pleased with Kokoschka's portrait of the old gentleman with his benign but sullen lines.

The police sharply perceptive observer, who laid bare the very nerves of his sitter, became milder in old age and even obliging in his painting.

Kokoschka's later output unquestionably confirms the widely-held belief that he is still a master of his art, all of us tend to pass the test in extreme old age.

The artistic force of the early Kokoschka cannot be compared with the later artist. It is true that the theatre set displayed at the Hamburg Arts and Crafts Museum show he still had something to offer in crayon.

The elderly Kokoschka put onto paper an abundance of bubbling ideas and a gay fantasy world.

But for Kokoschka people, not things were all-important. When he died in 1980 he left behind a rich and varied body of work, masterpieces and pictures that clashed with convention.

Annette Lettau

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 1 March 1986)



Kokoschka, The Emigré, 1917

(Photos: Catalogue)

(Photo: Catalogue)

(Photo

Music is used by therapists at Herdecke Hospital in the Ruhr to help disturbed children with problems at school.

The technique used at the hospital, a private clinic run by followers of Rudolf Steiner (see the story on Steiner and Waldorf schools in *The German Tribune* No. 1218), is the Nordoff Robbins method.

One patient music has helped is Peter, who was 10 when his difficulties began. He had trouble keeping up with the class at school.

He had no friends. The other children made fun of him. He was difficult at home. His parents, brothers and sisters could make neither head nor tail of him.

Unlike many others in his situation he didn't end up at a school for the educationally sub-normal. He underwent music therapy at Herdecke.

His treatment is now over. It has helped him to come to terms with himself and to handle problems that arise during the school day.

The Nordoff Robbins method was devised about 20 years by an American composer. Little known in Germany, it came about by coincidence.

At a concert for handicapped children the pianist and staff were amazed to see how children otherwise lethargic and unresponsive were fascinated by the music.

The Herdecke music therapists are still fascinated by the effect. "I completely forget the handicap," one says. "All that counts is how to reach the child via music."

Lutz Neugebauer is a graduate in music therapy and works at the hospital. Unlike most analysts, he works non-verbally. The child can choose its own instrument to play.

EDUCATION

Herdecke music therapy helps disturbed kids

General-Anzeiger

Music, he says, is an extremely direct approach and particularly effective where people can't be reached verbally.

Neugebauer, 26, doesn't work on the assumption that illness on the one hand is faced by normal health on the other and that the handicapped child must be brought back to normal.

He wonders what is normal for the particular child.

How can music get handicapped children to evolve new structures and open up new sectors of experience? A sign of success is when a child that has been nothing but loud, abrupt and chaotic suddenly develops a different approach.

Peter was a model patient. Two Herdecke music therapists describe his case in a specialist journal:

At the first session he went straight for the instruments and played chaotically and without a break, ignoring the music improvised by his therapist.

But at times he kept to the rhythm of the accompaniment, so at least he was aware of it. Even so, he was unable to associate what he was playing with the music he heard played by his therapist.

Gradually he was taught to stay in

rhythm. But flexibility in tempo and dynamics was also aimed at.

Initially he couldn't even coordinate his hands to beat a drum. When he tried to use both hands they collided, as it were. After the course of therapy he was able to follow a wide range of rhythmic patterns.

At the same time he showed striking signs of improvement in everyday life. He was better at arithmetic. He could write more legibly. He even did his homework on his own.

He was no longer an outside in the school playground either. And it was all achieved without medication. He attended a single 25-minute music therapy session a week for four months.

At a later stage a further five sessions were felt to be necessary.

The article on his case, including musical notation to illustrate his progress, says: "This case shows how work on musical structure affects inner structures of perception, experience and ability to give shape and contour to things."

"Man experiences his environment as son is someone who gives them a hearing and ensures anonymity."

The *Kinderschutzbund*, or Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in Düsseldorf are adults.

"The key is under the doormat. Please look after my child. I'm committing suicide," one caller said. She added her address. Then the line went dead.

Edeltraud Herzer, 46, of the Düsseldorf emergency switchboard drove straight to the address. She and a psychologist succeeded, in the middle of the night, in finding the desperate mother.

She had taken an overdose of sleeping pills but was rushed to hospital, where her life was saved. Her child spent a while with foster-parents.

"That wasn't the last we had to do with the case," Frau Herzer recalls. "We maintained contact with mother and child. Conversations are often a great help."

Emergency calls are not always so dramatic. Callers are often young adults. "Well over half our 700 callers a year are over 18," Frau Herzer says.

Many are single parents suffering from loneliness, financial difficulties and unemployment. This combination mostly means they can no longer cope with the children either.

"Problems are often handled at the child's expense," says René Heinendorf of the society's advisory council.

Adults who no longer know what to do and realise they have a problem are the switchboard's most frequent category of client.

"Relations with other people are definitely the main problem, for children as well as adults," says Ralf Nafroth, the society's North Rhine-Westphalian business manager and national spokesman for the emergency switchboards.

The first unhappy love affair can floor 12-year-olds, and often enough they don't really want to tell their parents all about it. "The switchboard per-

WOMEN

Tutting conference probes discrimination against women graduates

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Dowhill for Women after Graduation was the subject of a conference at the Protestant Academy in Tutzing, Bavaria, and it was more than a calculated provocation.

Statistics show it is often the reality. Unemployment among women graduates is higher than an entire year's intake of women undergraduates at German universities.

If the German judiciary insists on taking on the best students then women will soon be a majority in the profession, which finds disturbing.

Women have it harder in the job market where grades criteria are not crucial for the job. The latest government youth report bluntly concludes:

"The better and broader qualifications of girls and young women are being ignored by the job market."

Better qualifications and a longer education often lead to a particular discrimination.

Qualified women academics are relatively old in comparison with other women, usually between 25 to 30. The probability of them wanting a child after starting a job is greater.

So employers prefer to give responsible, highly paid jobs to men. They also believe that women will be less successful in the tough male dominated academic world.

Ingrid Biermann and Lindy Ziebell of Bielefeld University have examined whether women with degrees have returned to a domestic "alternative" role because of unemployment.

They found that none of the women interviewed were planning to have a child. Says Lindy Ziebell:

"Many women wanting children see themselves forced into a position where deciding freely is more difficult, and many are forced to say they don't want children so as not to prejudice their job prospects."

For many the idea of gaining work experience to make job re-entry easier later, after having children, is never put into practice.

One unemployed sociologist interviewed expressed her dilemma like this:

"If I were to have children now my professional ambitions would have to lose priority. I would consciously face the prospect of never getting a job."

This means, in principle, deciding against a family; an undesirable step for

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most women graduates interviewed. The women are not content to make a second-hand career out of supporting their husbands' ones.

But that is the destiny many face. At university they have already chosen a highly-qualified career-minded mate. This means a life of living in his shadow. Munich sociologist Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim says:

"Being a career man is a one-and-a-half-person job. What successful man has time to go shopping, to wash up or to look after the children's upbringing?"

"He leaves such matters to his domestic manageress. She allows him to concentrate on higher goals."

Such women often end up being bitter. Sofia Tolstoy, wife of the great Russian novelist, wrote in her journal:

"He unloaded every burden on to me, the responsibility for the children, for the estate, for financial matters, for all material things..."

"I have no private life, cannot read, play or reflect; it was always so, what kind of a life is this?"

Lack of alternatives has produced a similar reality for many women.

Few women make it to the top. The highest category of university professorship in Germany is held by only 2.38 women. They are outnumbered by 9,387 men.

A report published by the German Unesco Commission says that chances for women are better than they were 10 years ago.

But if they get jobs, they usually hault at middle management level, a position from which most male careers take off.

And what happens if a woman despite all the obstacles succeeds in entering the profession for which she has studied?

One woman who reached an executive post in a medium-sized business answers with a mixture of pride and bitterness:

"I have a career, but when you work 14 hours a day in an office you lead a lonely private life."

She devoted herself to her career, then her long-time partnership broke up. Like many successful women, she has found that in the male career world the private sphere doesn't count.

Frau Beck-Gernsheim says women, unlike men, cannot rely on domestic

support to make the grade, in their careers.

"It is hard for a woman to find a house-husband to take over the domestic chores," she says.

It can thus work against women that they have no house-manager. It affects performance. Employers would sooner employ a supported man than an unsupported woman.

The aim of women at the conference was not to emulate the male career pattern. They didn't want to choose between a career or a family.

Empirical research shows the vast majority of younger women to agree with them in calling for the integration of family and profession.

However, for academics it is particularly difficult to integrate the two. Part-time secretarial work is easier to come by than a job as a PhD chemist.

If chemists want to have a family, then later re-enter into professional life is difficult. Employers assume they have lost contact with developments.

In the long run only the creation of attractive part-time positions which also make such a step palatable to men can solve the dilemma for highly qualified women in executive positions.

The Tutzing conference realised that was not possible for all positions. However, Maria-Theres Tinnefeld of the Bar Association says:

"One can surely narrow down the number of positions which can be perceived as full-time."

No jobs for the girls

A working party imagined how the future might look. "The working population will be divided into part-time, family people and full-time, career ones. The division into the family woman and the career man will go."

However, it was stressed that women had to strive for positions which could give them the power to make the working environment more hospitable to woman and family.

The catchword "intervention" became as much a central idea as "the way into the institutions."

How, however can women find a way into the institutions? The statistics show a good education is not enough.

Annette Kuhn, professor of history at Bonn University, says universities can be changed only by a rigid quota system. Quotas would reserve a certain amount of positions exclusively for women.

A commission of enquiry into Women and Society set up by the Bonn Bundestag recommends job quota regulations.

It describes a quota regulation system as a reliable and effective way that does not contravene constitutional guarantees of freedom of action and private autonomy.

Erika Ludwig, personnel manager at Helmann, a subsidiary of Siemens, confirms that promotion plans and quotas for women are rare in German industry.

"One finds signs of that mostly in subsidiaries of American companies," she says.

An indication that quotas can be introduced in the civil service if there is a will to do so can be seen in an advertisement in *Die Zeit*.

Hesse Environment Minister Joschka Fischer was looking for an adviser on environmental affairs. He wrote:

"Women with the necessary qualifications will be given preference, as will handicapped applicants."

Christine Broll, Süddeutsche Zeitung, München, 7 March 1986

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(Continued on page 12)

Continued from page 12

say: "Thanks, it was a great help to feel you kept your fingers crossed for me."

Where sexual problems are concerned, she is concerned (and they often are) she consults experts.

"We collaborate closely with the municipal youth department and family planning clinics, but we never divulge our callers' identity. We aren't an official agency in any way. And we never reveal personal data or secrets callers tell us."

Frau Herzer isn't superhuman. "I feel I've always found the right words in the past," she says, "but I can't guarantee for the future."

She stops to think for a moment, then says with an air of certainty: "If I only really help one child a month, then it's all been worth while."

Eva Goris
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine) Essen, 7 March 1986

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■ PEOPLE

Escaped German POW comes clean after 40 years



Georg Gärtnner and his wife Jean

(Photo: AP)

Georg Gärtnner, alias Dennis Whiles, Germany's last surviving Second World War POW can now breathe easily again. For 40 years he lived under false identities in the USA in permanent fear of being discovered.

Despite getting married, he kept his secret from his wife. Over the years the mother of two grew suspicious of his mysterious past. To save his marriage he decided to come clean.

Now a 65-year-old veteran of Rommel's Africa Corps, he has just spent a week in Germany with his sister in Brunswick.

A former German ambassador to Switzerland, Gerhard Fischer, has been hailed as Dropout of the Year. But he feels the title is misleading. He sees himself more as a frontline fighter against leprosy.

The ex-diplomat with the impeccable career retired a year early to work with Dr Elisabeth Vomstein at her leprosy clinic in South India and would prefer to see Sister Elisabeth receiving medical attention.

A doctor from Schliengen, near Lörrach, has been in charge of the leprosy clinic in Settipatty, near Madras, for 25 years.

Gerhard Fischer has been a medical dogsbody there since the beginning of the year.

When Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister Lothar Späth visited Bangalore while travelling through Asia, Fischer introduced him to Dr Vomstein. It was a great day for the modest doctor who holds the Baden-Württemberg distinguished service medal and cross. Herr Späth's personal greeting meant at least some recognition for 25 years of unceasing service.

Fischer, whose organisational skill is highly regarded in the foreign service, used the time to bring the attention of delegation members to the urgent needs of the clinic's 15 outpatient stations and 7,000 patients.

Sister Elisabeth has no religious order behind her to provide financial backing. Fischer hopes through his commitment to bridge this gap at least to some extent.

He has compiled a long list of urgent requirements. A shoe-repair facility is needed. There is no poultry farm or even the simplest of tools to grow crops. The ex-ambassador proudly men-

of Germany and his Silesian homeland with which he could not identify.

He thought his relatives were dead and saw no reason to return home. Since being here he has found Brunswick, Hamburg, Hanover, Frankfurt and Cologne to be like American cities.

For the rest of his stay he wants to visit old POW pals. He has already made contact with survivors of the 33rd Africa Corps division.

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